

Message Text

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S/S - MR. GAMMON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 282421

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, BR

SUBJECT:LETTER TO THE SECRETARY FROM FOREIGN MINISTER

SILVEIRA

1. ON DECEMBER 24 AMBASSADOR ARAUJO CASTRO DELIVERED TO THE SECRETARY THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA DATED DECEMBER 18.

2. BEGIN TEXT: MY DEAR HENRY, IN MY LETTER OF NOVEMBER 30TH, FORWARDED FROM GENEVA, I COULD NOT REFER, AS I HAD WISHED, TO THE RESULTS OF THE BRASILIA MEETING BETWEEN YOUR "POLICY-PLANNING" ADVISERS AND MY OWN. I LEARNED FROM THE US EMBASSY IN BRASILIA THAT YOUR ASSISTANTS WERE QUITE HAPPY WITH THE RESULTS. ON OUR SIDE, WE CONSIDER THAT THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, AS UNDERTAKEN, WAS VERY REWARDING. IT WAS WIDE, COMPREHENSIVE, FRANK AND INFORMAL. MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING IS SOMETIMES MORE IMPORTANT THAN FORMAL AGREEMENT. IN THE COURSE OF THE EXERCISES, MANY
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WERE THE OPPORTUNITIES IN WHICH YOUR ADVISERS COINCIDE

WITH MINE, WHICH IS ONLY NATURAL, IN VIEW OF THE SUBSTANTIAL IDENTITIES WHICH UNDERLIE OUR OBJECTIVES IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN POLICY. I REFER SPECIFICALLY TO OUR MUTUAL ADHERENCE TO CERTAIN BASIC VALUES INHERENT IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION. AS IT WAS BOUND TO HAPPEN, THERE

WERE MANY OCCASIONS IN WHICH THERE APPEARED CONCEPTUAL DIFFERENCES ON QUESTIONS WHICH ARE NO LESS FUNDAMENTAL TO ONE AND TO THE OTHER COUNTRY. TO CLEAR PERCEPTION THAT SUCH DIFFERENCES DO EXIST AND THE MUTUAL REALIZATION THAT THEY ARE VALID IS IMPORTANT FOR THE UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION WHICH MUST PREVAIL BETWEEN OUR GOVERNMENTS.

3. I AM POSITIVE THAT THE CONVERSATIONS HELD IN BRASILIA WILL PROVE FRUITFUL FOR THE PREPARATION OF YOUR COMING TRIP TO BRAZIL. THEY WILL HAVE HELPED TO BREAK AND OPEN THE GROUND SO THAT WE CAN CONCENTRATE ON LESS SPECULATIVE AND MORE OPERATIONAL MATTERS.

4. I LEFT GENEVA FOR LISBON, ON MY FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT TO PORTUGAL AND I DEEM IT TIMELY TO GIVE YOU AN IDEA OF THE PURPOSES AND RESULTS OF THE SAME VISIT.

5. ON THE BILATERAL LEVEL, IT WAS IMPORTANT TO RESUME THE BRAZIL-PORTUGAL DIALOGUE, WHICH, SINCE THE 25TH OF APRIL REVOLUTION, HAD BEEN IN A WAY INTERRUPTED. IT IS TRUE, AS I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO INFORM YOU, THAT I HELD WITH MARIO SOARES IN SEPTEMBER IN NEW YORK A MEETING WHICH PROVED FUNDAMENTAL FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE DIALOGUE ON A GOVERNMENT LEVEL. SINCE THEN, NEW FACTS HAVE ARISEN IN PORTUGAL WITH THE SETTING UP OF THE THIRD PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, ON THE 28TH OF SEPTEMBER. WHAT THIS NEW PHASE OF THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION REALLY MEANS IS NOT YET CLEAR AND I ASSUME THAT YOU ARE FACING THE SAME DIFFICULTY OF ANALYSIS AND ASSESSMENT.

6. MY TRIP TO LISBON MIGHT BRING AS A RESULT A CERTAIN DEGREE OF INFLUENCE IN THE CHOICE AND DETERMINATION OF TENDENCIES. AT LEAST, IT WOULD BE AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A DETERMINATION OF THE PORTUGUESE INTEREST IN INTENSIFYING RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL, WHICH IMPLICITLY, CONFIDENTIAL

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WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO A DEFINITION AS REGARDS THE TRENDS OF THE PORTUGUESE INTERNAL POLITICS. THE WARM WELCOME EXTENDED TO ME NOT ONLY BY MINISTER MARIO SOARES BUT ALSO-AND UNRESERVEDLY BY PRIME MINISTER VASCO GONCALVES AND BY PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES, THE PUBLIC FRIENDLY DEMONSTRATIONS TOWARDS THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE EMPHASIS LAID ON THE NECESSITY OF A PROMPT NORMALIZATION OF INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN PORTUGAL

AND BRAZIL, PERSUADE ME THAT THERE PREVAILS WITHIN THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT THE INFLUENCE OF MODERATE CURRENTS WHICH, ALBEIT OF EUROPEAN-STYLE SOCIALIST INSPIRATION, HAVE NOT OPTED FOR ROADS AND WAYS LEADING TO A MARKED LEFTIST RADICALIZATION. INASMUCH AS SUCH IMPRESSION MAY BE CORRECT AND INASMUCH AS THIS TREND MAY PREVAIL, IT IS REASONABLE TO EXPECT THAT PORTUGAL WILL MAKE ITS WAY TO

THE ELECTIONS OF MARCH 31ST. NEITHER CAN WE IGNORE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THIS RAPPROCHEMENT WITH BRAZIL MAY SERVE THE ELECTORAL INTERESTS OF THE MODERATE SOCIALISTS THUS ATTRACTING TO THEIR RANKS A CERTAIN SECTION OF PEOPLE FROM THE POLITICAL CENTER.

7. ON THE MULTILATERAL LEVEL, MY VISIT WOULD SERVE TO SET FORTH, WITHOUT ANY AMBIGUITY, THE POSITION OF BRAZIL AS REGARDS THE PORTUGUESE AFRICAN TERRITORIES. THIS WAS IMPORTANT VIS-A-VIS PORTUGAL, PRINCIPALLY AFTER THE TRAUMATIC IMPACT OF THE BRAZILIAN RECOGNITION OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU. IT IS IMPERATIVE FOR US TO INITIATE A DIRECT DIALOGUE WITH THE LEADERS OF THE FUTURE STATES OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA AND, BARRING A PORTUGUESE UNDERSTANDING OF SUCH A NECESSITY, WE MIGHT BE ACCUSED OF TRYING TO INTERFERE IN PORTUGUESE INTERNAL MATTERS, PRIOR TO A FORMAL TRANSFER OF SOVEREIGNTY. I BELIEVE THAT THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY UNDERSTOOD THAT IT IS TO THEIR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE NOT TO PERMIT THE ACCUMULATION OF GRUDGES TOWARDS BRAZIL ON THE PART OF THE TERRITORIES MAKING THEIR WAY TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE. THIS WAS LIKEWISE IMPORTANT FOR OUR AFRICAN POLICY, NOT ONLY AS REGARDS PORTUGUESE SPEAKING PEOPLES BUT ALSO AS REGARDS OUR RELATIONS WITH THE REST OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE HAD TO CONFIDENTIAL

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DISPEL TWO ERRONEOUS AND MISLEADING CONCEPTIONS: FIRST, THE ONE RELATED TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT WE WERE PROPOSING TO STEP INTO PORTUGAL'S SHOES AND TO TRY TO BENEFIT FROM THE COLONIAL SPOILS THROUGH A MODALITY OF BRAZILIAN NEO-COLONIALISM, AND SECONDLY, THE ONE RELATED TO SUSPICIONS, RAISED BY THE SOCIALIST GOVERNMENTS WHICH SPONSERED THE AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, THAT BRAZIL WAS A SURROGATE FOR "AMERICAN IMPERIALISM" IN THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

8. AS I LEFT SENEGAL FOR EUROPE, I DISPATCHED MINISTER ITALO ZAPPA, HEAD OF OUR AFRICAN AND ASIAN DEPARTMENT, TO THE CAPITAL CITIES WHERE HE COULD TALK THE LEADERS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA. MINISTER ZAPPA HAD EXTENSIVE MEETINGS WITH THE LEADERS OF FRELIMO, MPLA, FNLA AND UNITA. SUCH MEETINGS WERE

EXTREMELY REWARDING BECAUSE FROM THEM EMERGED THE AUTHENTICITY OF BRAZILIAN SOLIDARITY TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW STATES. IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR THE AFRICAN LEADERS TO CONTEMPLATE UNRESERVEDLY THE CONVENIENCE OF A CLOSE COOPERATION WITH BRAZIL IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE NEW NATIONALITIES. AS IT HAPPENED IN THE CASE OF PORTUGAL, I AM CONVINCED THAT THIS RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN BRAZIL AND THE NEW PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING NATIONS WILL CONTRIBUTE TO COUNTERACT THE EXCESSIVE DEPENDENCY, OF SUCH STATES ON

SUPPORT COMING FROM COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AND MIGHT THUS PROVE A MODERATING INFLUENCE IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

9. THIS LETTER HAS CARRIED ME FURTHER THAN MY ORIGINAL INTENT, BUT I DID NOT WANT TO FAIL TO TRANSMIT TO YOU MY IMPRESSIONS ON MATTERS AND PROBLEMS WHICH I KNOW ARE LIKEWISE THE SUBJECT OF YOUR SPECIAL INTEREST AND ATTENTION.

10. MAY JOINS ME IN FORWARDING TO NANCY AND TO YOU OUR BEST WISHES FOR THE SEASON AND FOR A HAPPY NEW YEAR. AFFECTIONATELY, ANTONIO. END TEXT.

11. PORTUGUESE TEXT BEING POUCHED. BROWN

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